

THE AGITATOR

A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

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HOME, (LAKEBAY P. O.) WASHINGTON, MAY 15, 1912

WHOLE NO. 37

The Passing Show

Rowdyism and the Red Flag.

On the evening of May 1st the Radicals of Seattle had a parade as part of their labor day celebration. By agreement with the mayor they carried an American flag beside the International flag of Labor. They did not care to carry the American flag, for the very natural reason that they have outgrown national boundaries. Still they carried it, for the same reason that they carry all the other burdens of the world, which they have likewise outgrown.

Before proceeding very far they were attacked by a gang of hoodlums with drawn revolvers, who tore the red flag from the standard bearer and made off with it, after slugging him and others who came to the rescue. Whereupon the "Stars and Stripes" was dashed to the pavement and the marchers proceeded on their way.

It developed later that the highwaymen and thugs were Spanish War veterans, whose delicate and refined sense of patriotism could not bear the sight of "Old Glory" in the vile company of the Red Banner. Of all true patriots none are more entitled to the honor of defending the flag than these same "veterans." They are the true followers of the exalted philosophy: "My country, right or wrong." And it is only such men that can be depended upon to uphold the "dignity" of the American flag at this period in the evolution of America.

It was these noble patriots that followed like sheep the dictates of the capitalist masters of America, and drenched the American flag in the warm blood of the liberty-loving Filipinos. Thus the American flag is red—red with the blood of the patriots whom these "veterans" slew. To the Filipino the Stars and Stripes is the symbol of treachery, torture and death, of economic and political slavery. To the American who is not a stupid "right-or-wrong" patriot, these "veterans" are the greatest despoilers of the flag, and should bow their heads in shame for having made it the emblem of tyranny and aggression.

The Skeleton Behind the Flag.

The Seattle Times has taken a serious fit of hysteria over this flag incident; which shows it has a keen eye to business, both as to its circulation and in regard to its function as a defender of the system of exploitation it profits by. Let the Times and its bevy of professional patriots take notice: The radical element is not going to be allured into a squabble over the flag. It is an old trick of the exploiting class to raise false issues and set the workers to battle over them. The flag has been the most fruitful of all in this line, and the most profitable to the capitalist class, who divide the workers under 50 flags and set them to hating each other and forming armies and navies for their mutual destruction, and the enslavement of those who survive.

The flag is the symbol of sectionalism, of which patriotism is the expression. The ruling class has long ago outgrown patriotism, but it keeps up the pretense and insists, strenuously, upon it being instilled into the minds of the

workers, who, were they not blinded by its glitter, would refuse to take up arms against each other. Thanks to our splendid system of education, the most sincere patriot is the poor working slave who does not own a square inch of "his" country, but who, on the contrary, is dependent upon a capitalist master for the privilege of paying, with his sweat and blood, the high price of living in it. The rank and file of the Spanish War veterans is composed of such men, men absolutely ignorant of the real meaning of the flag controversy, about which they are inflamed by the shrewd capitalists behind the Seattle Times.

Protecting the Ballot.

A bill has been introduced in Congress making it a crime for employers to threaten a reduction in wages or a shut-down in case any particular candidate is elected President. This is sop for simpletons. So long as the jobs are "owned," the owners will find means to coerce and intimidate the workers who rent these jobs.

The "Australian ballot" was hailed by reformers as the great protector of the sovereign American voter. Formerly the boss went to the polls and saw that the free American citizens voted for his man, under pain of losing their jobs. Now they could exercise their proud citizenship in secret. Like craven cowards, with a lie on their lips, they could go behind the canvas and "knife" the candidates they had just promised their master to vote for.

But the man who holds the key to the free American stomachs is not so easily fooled. He calls a meeting of his "men" some noon hour, just on the eve of election and makes a speech. I was once an attentive listener to one of these speeches.

R. T. Crane, the iron master, who died recently, after leaving a million to found a "Home" for the female victims of his class, called a meeting of his men in 1896, when "Bryan and free silver" menaced the sacred city on the Potomac. R. T. was as venerable looking an old scoundrel as one could meet in a day's walk through the Wall St. district. His address was substantially as follows:

"Men, for some years our business has been fairly prosperous. I have endeavored to keep you in steady employment. But our future is threatened by a possible political catastrophe. I do not want you to think I am trying to influence your politics. But I think it only just to you and to your families, who are dependent on your wages, that I should inform you that if Bryan is elected I shall have to close this factory indefinitely."

Even the wisest of us democrats, "Pops" and Socialists didn't know but that the old chap was sincere. He surely looked the part. Now, while we were strong on principle, our immediate needs were also strong incentives to action; and I will wager that when we entered the secret, sacred booth we voted for the job and let the principle wait till next election.

The result showed that the job outweighed principle. For the Bryan sentiment was overwhelming, but Bryan was overwhelmed by the vote. Which proves that men are men, and few are willing to risk the present against the future.

The only way to protect the ballot is to make men economically free, and there never will be a free ballot until men do own their jobs. The logic of the situation is then to concentrate our efforts on the economic field, and by industrial action directly break through the walls that separate mankind from the means of life—the land and the product thereof.

A New Breed of Men.

There is a new breed of workingmen in this world, who see as clearly as do the Capitalists. They are not symbolists. They are Materialists. They have no time to waste on hunting; and will not be drawn into a controversy over its imaginary virtues. They cannot be fooled by silvery tongues, nor roused by the sound of national nursery rhymes. They modestly demand the earth. You may have all the other spheres, and the heaven, you laud, thrown in. They have no superstitions. They refuse to believe your conventional lies. They will not accept the word of your capitalist class for anything.

They have evolved their own ideals, their own ethics, their own morality, their own social values. They do not pin their faith to flags. Their faith is embedded in humanity. You may catch one of them and, in your ignorant, brutal way, force him to kiss your flag. They will not retaliate in kind. They will slip you a pamphlet, and you may come back next week and ask to be allowed to kiss their crimson emblem of universal brotherhood.

They are the heralds of progress and you cannot stop their onward march, no more than you can stop the incoming tide. You may jail them and torture them and hang them. That will only increase their number and hasten the day of your own downfall.

They are not men with an idea in their heads, that may be discarded or forgotten. They are the material manifestation of the idea itself.

Can you command the lightning? Can you alter the course of the spheres? Then you can extinguish the fire of social revolt.

The social revolution is inevitable, as the coming of tomorrow is inevitable. Peacefully or with drawn sword. The choice is yours. Decide.

Tom Mann has been sentenced to six months in jail for asking the soldiers not to shoot their fellow men on strike for a living wage. Will that help the cause of capitalism? Every soldier in the British army will hear of Tom Mann, now. He will be the topic of conversation in every barrack for months to come; and "Tommy Atkins" will not learn any loyalty from talking about that daring rebel.

Syndicalism is the topic of the hour. It rises, like the phoenix of fiction, out of the burnt fire of Labor's experience. It cannot be squelched by the jailing of a thousand Manns.

Fearing a strike such as the workers of Lawrence put up, the textile bosses of Fall River have voluntarily increased wages of 25,000 workers 10 per cent.

JAY FOX

THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by unionists and their friends for the economic and political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. On the whole it is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

Government is the great blackmailer. ... No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the offspring of Revolution. Buckle

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

III

The four chief causes to which I have attributed the failure of the I. W. W.'s dual organization program are: First, The wholesale condemnation of all non-I. W. W. unions; second, The I. W. W. lays itself open to and encourages scabbing on the part of these unions; third, The I. W. W. places itself in the unsavory position of a disruptive organization; fourth, The I. W. W. violates the principle of the militant minority. It will be seen they all four arise from the warlike relation of the I. W. W. toward the non-I. W. W. unions in general. These unions present the I. W. W.'s most serious problem. Were they but out of existence, the I. W. W. would have comparatively plain sailing. But they refuse to go out of existence and wherever the I. W. W. tries to organize it comes in conflict with them and wastes its strength in fruitless combat. They (ensemble) as well as the I. W. W., claim jurisdiction over the whole working class and don't tamely submit to competition.

The seriousness of the problem presented by these unions is generally, if vaguely, recognized in the I. W. W. and many and varied are the solutions offered for it. Just a few typical ones held by prominent I. W. W.: Haywood, St. John—ignore the A. F. of L., and organize the unskilled—the "Let Gompers have his million we'll take the rest throng—Troutman, Williams, Ettor, break up the A. F. of L.—Williams says, "We must bore the A. F. of L. all to pieces;" Ettor has stated it is the duty of every revolutionist to use all his energies to destroy the A. F. of L., because while it exists a revolutionary movement is impossible in the United States; Walker C. Smith says we must "bore from within" and "build from without"—a combination build-it-up and bust-it-up theory; Rosini would have I. W. W. members work in the old unions, yet preserve an organization on the outside to serve as a sort of haven for those workers discouraged in the A. F. of L.; Hall, in whose brain the idea of the I. W. W. was conceived, would, as I understand him, have the I. W. W. a sort of propaganda organization, consisting solely of rebels, yet taking the form of a dual labor organization; Thompson says we should encourage the industrial union idea wherever possible, get into the old unions, capture them, and swing them into the I. W. W. He says he has often deterred I. W. W. coal miners from forming I. W. W. unions, advising them to stick in the U. M. W. A. And so it goes, about every second member having a different theory—their violently contradictory theories running gamut of every possible line of tactics.

The best comment on these theories—none of which touch the root of the evil—is to be found in that none of their holders, so far as can be seen, are making any efforts to have the I. W. W. adopt them. They are leaving the organization peacefully go along in its planless, haphazard, wasteful method of organizing a member or local wherever possible. They themselves don't believe their theories are "worth a damn." Belief in their proposition explains the present activities (obnoxious) of the members advocating "boring from within" tactics for the I. W. W. These proposed new tactics are briefly as follows:

New Tactics for the I. W. W.

The I. W. W., as an organization, shall give up

its present unsuccessful and patriotic attempt to build up a completely new labor movement and shall limit itself to propaganda work. We must give up our unsuccessful program—dual organization—and prosecute our successful program—propagation of industrial unionism. We must separate the church from the state, as it were, dissociate the propagation of industrial unionism from dual organization and concentrate our efforts on the former, leaving the latter to take care of itself—as will be indicated later. We must cease trying to be the labor movement and must develop our organization into an effective propaganda league.

We would thus be but adapting the tactics being used in all effective Syndicalist movements and those which would unquestionably have been originally adopted by the I. W. W. had it been formed by Syndicalists, who would have given the question serious study, instead of by a bunch of politicians, who, believing that if a new political party could be made a success, so can a new labor movement.

National Propaganda Organizations

The English, Italian and French movements present types of national Syndicalist propaganda organizations. The English Syndicalist propaganda league, of which Tom Mann is the head, and which has played such a prominent part in the recent series of great uprisings in the English labor movement, is a national dues paying organization. It is not trying to build up a new labor movement, but to revolutionize the old one. To which end it is turning out vast quantities of literature and everywhere "butting in" on the labor movement, spreading its revolutionary doctrines.

The national organization of the Italian Syndicalists is the "Committee of Direct Action," in Parma. It is composed of delegates from all Italian unions controlled by Syndicalists—be they independent or affiliated with the conservative Confederation of Labor. It carries on propaganda activities similar to the English Syndicalist organization and is not a dual labor organization. It serves simply as the medium through which the Syndicalists secure more concerted action in propagation and realization of their doctrines in the Italian labor movement in general. It is a power in the Italian movement.

In France the Syndicalists, being in control of the national labor movement, haven't the need for such a strongly developed national propaganda organization as the weaker Italian and English Syndicalist movements. They secure the necessary concerted action in their eternal fight against the Socialist politicians through their national unofficial papers and magazines owned and sustained by rebels.

Of these three types of organizations the English Outline of New National Organization for I. W. W. undoubtedly is the best fitted for American conditions. The I. W. W. naturally could easily be changed into such an organization. The greatest change necessary would be that it change its aim. It would have to cease trying to build up a new labor movement and instead devote itself to the propagation of industrial unionism. This change of aim would, of course, involve the discarding of its present constitution and the adoption of a new one.

The national headquarters would be maintained then—as now—by dues. As the organizations in the industries would have full autonomy, as will be explained later, the national officers would be few and their duties of a clerical and propaganda nature.

National Organ.

A national paper (or papers) would be indispensable to such an organization. This paper would differ from the rest of the organization papers, in that it would not specialize in any particular industry, but would occupy itself with the whole labor movement. It would be the national organ and the medium through which the whole movement clarified itself and shaped its general policies.

The French equivalent to this paper is "La Bataille Syndicaliste," a daily. It is not an official organ of the C. G. T., nor any union, but may be called the official organ of the impromptu national syndicalist propaganda league, it being founded and supported by direct action rebels, to propagate their doctrines and fight the politicians.

Corps of Organizers.

A national corps of organizers would also probably be necessary. (These might be later replaced by

representatives of the various unions controlled by the Syndicalists who would serve as organizers, etc., similar to the members of the Italian Committee of Direct Action.) These organizers, in addition to their other propaganda activities, would have as their special function to take part in every important labor war, asked or unasked, by the conservative unions engaged.

During strikes workers readily accept revolutionary ideas and, if given the slightest encouragement and organization, repudiate their misleaders and act together in a revolutionary manner. Consequently, it would be the best and most natural policy of the national organization to concentrate its force as much as possible on great strikes—which occur with sufficient frequency to keep it thoroughly employed. The strike districts would be flooded with organizers and literature, pointing out the fallacy and futility of craft unionism and the advantages of industrial unionism, etc., and generally educating and stimulating the workers to revolutionary action.

The great value of this propaganda would be that it would be disinterested and taken at its face value by workers. At present the I. W. W. is excluded from this rich field of work. First, it has no interest in aiding old unions to win strikes; indeed, it would much rather see them lose, so they would go out of existence the quicker; and, second, even if it does send organizers into strike districts, they are inevitably and justly considered disrupters and their propaganda practically neglected. As a result, while rich situations like that presented by the great Harriman strike lies unexploited, all over the country one can find able I. W. W. organizers on "soap boxes in fevered competition with the Salvation Army, warming chairs," etc.

This national corps of organizers, acting in conjunction with the organized militant minorities in the unions involved, would be a powerful force. The mere fear of its activities would undoubtedly force labor fakers to give up many of their demoralizing practices. It would be a potent means to the revolution of the American labor movement.

Though this form of national organization would be effective—if we may judge by its results wherever tried—it would be but a minor feature of propaganda organization. The most important features would be the organizations in the various industries. These organizations will be treated of in the next article of this series

WM. Z. FOSTER.

HERVE AND THE GERMAN VICTORY

There appeared recently in several socialist periodicals, Chicago Daily included, a translated article on "German Victory," original of which was written in La Guerre Sociale by Gustave Herve, an imprisoned syndicalist of France.

As an introduction to that article, the Chicago Daily says:

"Herve is the most prominent direct actionist and syndicalist in the world. Sometime ago he was sentenced to two years imprisonment for his anti-military activity. While in prison he continued to edit his paper and has since been sentenced to nine more years for articles written while in prison. He was at one time a member of the Central Committee of the French Socialist Party, but finally resigned because, as he said, he felt that his advocacy of direct action was injuring the party."

What an exhibition of loyal constancy on Herve's part with gaping-mouthed, credulous naivete of the Daily! From now on we, the direct actionists, had better leave the Socialist Party alone; our presence within its ranks is injuring the party which must be preserved at any cost.

The Daily gleefully winds up saying: "In view of these facts his comment on the German election is most significant." Then follows Herve's article, from which, for want of space, I am quoting only the most vital parts.

"Without giving offence to any one, it seems to me that even if I were an anti-voter (a mania with which I have never been tainted) I still could not repress a certain jubilation when I see the magnificent slap in the face that the German Socialists have administered to the Kaiser, and to the united Protestant and Catholic clericals.

"I have formerly jeered somewhat at the German Socialist. I believe that I even said to its face, to be sure it was only for the purpose of spurring it on, that it was only a machine for gathering votes and dues.

"When last summer our German Comrades made their splendid manifestation against war, and when, in France, we had shown so little of brilliancy, then it was that I recognized that this formidable machine for the

TO LIVE

To live! ah, does he truly live,
Whose every wish is gratified,
Who rests content and satisfied
To thrive upon another's pain,
To make a brother's loss his gain;
Who in his health, and strength, and prime,
Is happy then a puppet to shine,
And waste the powers, soon to go,
In stupid, fleeting, empty show?
He does not live.

To live! ah, does he truly live,
Who for a paltry sum of gold,
Barter truth and manhood to retain his hold,
And by his sordid, selfish gains
Fastens tighter a people's chains;
While men and women 'round him groan,
And little children weep and moan,
Down to a lower, viler fate,
He sells them in the halls of state?
He does not live.

To live! ah, does he truly live,
Who though his path with thorns is set,
And toil and sorrow ever met,
Thru mists and clouds he still can see
The beacon light that makes men free;
No spoils of office, no wealth's allure,
Could make his righteous soul endure
Their chains of abject slavery,
The bondage of their treachery?
He does truly live.

To live! ah, he does truly live,
Who gives his health and vital force,
To swell the current of freedom's course,
Till on the banks, an overflow
Makes flowers of wondrous beauty grow;
Then none will need dread want to fear,
And all may come and gather here
The ripened fruits of liberty,
Truth, Justice, Peace, Fraternity.
—Ella L. Hoare.

gathering of votes might transform itself, if the Kaiser became too brutal, into a formidable machine with which to smash him and his supporters. Then, I began to wish that we had such a machine in France. And I wished this all the more when I came to see that the Socialist were moving further and further from dogmatic doctrinarism into actual life. Now that the German Socialists have turned from metaphysics to practical tactics, it is time to quit smiling, my emperor! (this to the Kaiser) The electoral triumph of the Socialists is not alone a victory for German liberty, it is a victory for international peace. Do we in France know enuf to draw from the victory of our friends in Germany the lesson of organization, of method, of discipline, of harmony that we need? We certainly have need to attend their school for a little while. We, whose political life is further advanced than that of the Germans, we have, by means of our internal dissensions, our sterile discussions of personalities, developed a party on the one hand and a general federation of labor on the other, equally stagnant, with equally ridiculous inefficiency; treasures without money, journals without readers, and have engendered demoralization, skepticism and disgust."

The general impression conveyed to the average person so far, could be embodied in Herve's finishing touch, to-wit:

"In truth I begin to ask myself if with our great phrases of insurrection, direct action, sabotage and 'chasing the foxes'; we are not, after all, from a revolutionary point of view, but little children beside the Socialist voters of Germany."

Let us analyze, carefully, whether Herve had a concrete, undisputed basis for imparting such impression to the readers, and whether the Syndicalism of France is really so "little" and voters of Germany so grown "from a revolutionary point of view," as he wishes to infer.

To make a successful and convincing analysis, it is imperative for us to depart from judging and comparing the revolutionary accomplishments of these two nations by mere surface appearances and manifestations (as Herve does); we must penetrate that surface, until we reach the underlying fundamental causes from which such revolutionary accomplishments have sprung and were made possible. And in order to do so, we are impelled to apply to humanity the same universal laws which govern matter, motion, energy, force; the whole Universe.

If we were to thrust one end of a poker into a fire and hold the other end in the hand, heat (energy) will gradually be conducted from the farthest end in the fire, toward the nearest end, finally communicating to the

hand. And if we apply our fingers successively at different points nearer and nearer the fire, we will find that the nearer we approach the fire the hotter is the poker.

Such property of matter and process of energy combined is known to the science of Physics as CONDUCTION, (convection, radiation). What is true of inorganic matter is also true of organic bodies: men, nations, races. Let us prove it.

* * *

Europe, at the present time, with a few exceptions, is chiefly presented by Latin and Teutonic races on one hand, and the Slavic nations on the other. The former inhabit, approximately, the Western part; the latter the Eastern.

Energy that is displayed by the modern civilization of the Teutonic and Latin races is gradually "conducted" eastward towards the Slavic nations. It strikes the Bohemians first, who are the most cultured of all the Slavs. Next, in geographical order, it reaches the Poles, who, altho highly cultured, are inferior to the Bohemians; and next it passes thru mediocre Russia, until it loses itself among the multitudinous, nonresponsive, nomadic tribes in the dark recesses of Asia, only to reecho in responsive China and Japan, both of whom are influenced by the energy conveyed to them by the combined modern civilization of the white races inhabiting both hemispheres.

We were dealing with civilization so far; let us deal with one of its phases—the revolutionary accomplishments of nations and races.

Again we will apply the universal law governing the process of CONDUCTION. France, for the last century and now, has been and is known as a hot-bed of revolution. Not without reason. The energy she displays is irresistible. Every class-conscious proletarian of the downtrodden countries (and what country is not?) is eagerly watching every move she makes, trying to imitate those moves in their respective lands.

The barricades of the Commune were erected on the streets of Moscow. The last successful English strike was a repetition of the French. Republican—and I mean it literally—spirit of the Frenchmen, is shaking the tottering thrones of Europe. Her unmatched secular ideas are shattering that child-like belief in priests who pester all the world.

If we make a still closer analysis of the present revolutionary energy of France as a whole, we will find that the nucleus of that energy is Syndicalism. What France is to the rest of Europe—Syndicalism is to France. It is a body within a body. And as such it exercises tremendous influence not only in France, but, by process of "conduction" as illustrated above, far beyond her boundaries. Almost every country in Europe, with very few exceptions, has now its own respective Syndicat, which is fighting the master class by applying the same methods and tactics.

Wishing to obtain a certain thing, Syndicalists do not zig-zag like some revolutionary bodies do. Nor do they wait four years for a "chance"; on the contrary, they are aiming directly at the desired object, seizing the very first moment.

We, the propagators of immediate "deed" judge a victory by its immediate results. The recent German victory of our "indirect-actionist" friends, does not relieve, immediately the needs of the German proletariat. Consequently, such victory does not appeal to us. And if we take for granted that it will bring relief "in the near future" what benefit would it be to us when we are dead and planted?

Herve's utterances should by no means astonish us. If we consider our bitter experiences in the past, we will be prepared for such surprises. We had John Burnes' Briands, Lorias; and time alone will show whether we can rank Herve with us, or whether we shall count him amongst that renegade fraternity.

Shifting capabilities of Herve are well known among the Syndicalists. Not "once" but several times has he resigned from the Socialist party, denouncing it bitterly on each occasion. "To be sure it was only for the purpose of spurring it on."

As a person of abnormally sanguine temperament, he spends his energy only in a certain channel, eliminating the bread and butter question that agitates the mind of the common proletarian. Having a special hobby of his own, anti-patriotism, his vision is obscured as to the immediate needs of the working class.

Herve errs by minimizing the revolutionary energy of Syndicalism. He "jubilates" over the kaiser; he invites his French confreres to the German school, but he forgets that the Germans have yet to learn from Frenchmen, how to chop off a King's head, instead of administering a imaginative slap; how to hunt that pestilential vermin, the clergy, and how to separate the Church from the State.

RALPH V. CHERVINSKY.

THE EDITOR'S DEFENCE

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of "encouraging disrespect for the law". If this verdict is allowed to stand every radical paper in the State will be at the absolute mercy of the prosecutors, and may be thrown into jail at any moment.

The interest of free speech demands that this case be appealed, and we urge that you subscribe to this fund.

The Free Speech League.

NATHAN LEVIN, Treas. Home, Lakebay, Wash.

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THE AGITATOR

Financial Report For April

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EXPENSES

Deficit from March,	\$35.72
Jay Fox, wages,	\$40.00
Faler & Co., Linotype,	23.75
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Postage, etc.,	3.25
Help,	1.50
Envelopes,	1.40
Total,	\$116.63
Deficit,	16.98

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THE ETHICS OF STIRNER

To all who have been fortunate enough to read Max Stirner's "Ego and His Own," there comes a strong desire to impart his doctrine to others, especially to the members of the working-class. It is with this end in view that I have undertaken to outline his doctrine in a few words. His book is very hard to obtain and does not appear to have been understood by some of those who have tried to give an estimate of it.

Eltzbacher's account is not a very accurate one. It must be said that Stirner took no special pains to be clear and that he used a peculiar philosophic dialect. Stirner's egoistic—or better—nihilistic philosophy is too often confused with the individualistic philosophy of, say, Emerson.

Stirner proclaimed—and this seems to be the most fundamental point in his theory—the doctrine of Ownness. It was a daring conception which will some day help effect a great revolution in philosophy. In essence it is this: "You are your own; work for your own interests. Respect no ideal! Do not make your actions conform to this or that standard! Disregard custom, duty, morality, justice, the Law! I am God, and King, and Law!" Hold nothing sacred but your own cravings and desires!" This is what he means by that nihilistic expression: "All things are nothing to me!" You are not bound if you will refuse to believe yourself bound. You are to yourself the Most High. Respect no "Thou shalt!" Be your own God! Obey no covenant! In short, "Nothing is more to me than myself!"

Now, between the nihilist and individualistic philosophy there is a rather subtle distinction which should be clearly perceived. Individualistic philosophy says: "Be a strong individual! Be above the common crowd! Develop your personality!" Egoistic or nihilistic philosophy says: "You have no duty whatever. If you desire to be a strong man, a man of influence, a real individual above—as far as you can be—the influence of the common herd,—well, in that case, be strong! But not as a duty, but as a privilege! The former theory says: Thou shalt be a Superman! The latter says: Be what YOU wish to be!"

The Stirnerian egoist—the man who accepts no morals whatsoever does not restrain himself in the matter of sympathy. An injury to one member of the human race is truly an injury to all. He accepts as absolute the dictates of his heart. He puts no Rights, no property titles, no respect for the State, even tho it be the freest democracy imaginable, no ethical standing above his own desires. The sight of a person in agony arouses in the spectator pain as really, as truly, as if he himself felt it. Thus there is nothing in Stirner contrary to the feeling of solidarity, sympathy, brotherly love. Stirner proclaims freedom from everything which could chain the individual; he is the prophet of unbridled Egoism; he clears away the ethical rubbish of the ages; he points to the last ideal of an idolatrous race—morals—and says: "Behold, this is fraud!" He turns to the Ego, to all the Egos in the universe and says: "Each of you is to himself the true God! Do as ye will!"

Between the ethics of Kropotkin and Stirner, there is no essential difference. What Kropotkin expresses in simple scientific language, Stirner states in exact but somewhat confusing metaphysical terms. When Kropotkin points out that in every individual there is a passion for the good of the race, he gives a strong support to Stirner's doctrine. We hesitate to proclaim that ethics are a delusion, and duty a fraud, unless we have Kropotkin's reassurance that the feeling of solidarity is wrought into the very nature of man. With this known we may send morality to the rubbish-heap without fear for the race.

According to Stirner's view, the good is what suits him and the bad what he detests. That which offends your sympathy is to you wrong. Thus, while entirely denying validity to externally imposed ethics, we find it impossible to deny the existence of good and evil. But I—the Ego—am to be the test. A tyrant, a brutal murder by that blood-spattered Monster, the Law—such as at San Diego—a cruel deed—these offend my sense of solidarity and are therefore wrong.

Thus we may add to our war-cry a new one.

As before we have said:

Hail to the death of the omnipotent Friend, God!
Hail to the downfall of the Law! Hail to the de-

struction of property rights!—we may add another:
Down with morality! W. CURTIS SWABEY.

CHAIN-GANGS AND GAMBLING

The chain-gang is a penal orge, a plutocratic outrage, a perfidious obliquity, courting oblivion.

Is race-track gambling immoral? Then the chain-gang is inhuman.

The red-light district pernicious; the chain-gang is pestilential.

Christians, Atheists, Unionists, Fraternal orders, Jews and Gentiles should unite in protest against the continuance of the degading, heart-breaking, soul-destroying, brutal badge of this senile species of serfdom.

All punishment should be remedial. The chain-gang is retrograde. Who are the chain-gang, and why? World victims! Centralized capital, and improved methods of production, force them year by year, month by month, day by day, into the New Grand Army of "out-of-works."

Every city has its quoto. International. Charity is futile. If they chop wood, the wood already chopped will not be sold. The farmer will re-travel the "toleroad" with his load. If they find work, others will be workless. They are a product of capitalist society, and cant be absorbed under existing methods. They must become self-supporting from the soil. How? National grants for tools, shops and implements. Where from? Plutocratic pension lists—excessive votes for armaments, and useless war pageants. Men before fish! Not only the people back to the land, but the land back to the people.

The flotsam and jetsam; the derelicts, the output of the slums, the out-of-work artisans from other countries are cajoled hither. By whom? Unscrupulous steamship companies who placard Europe with untruths. Bleeding thousands to keep up dividends. Then railroad companies advertise to the uttermost parts of the Union—dividends and profits, and behold—a chain gang!

Syndicalism has a proposal. This is from Tom Mann. "Our grievance is industrial, our remedy must be industrial. We now stipulate that certain things must be complied with, otherwise we refuse to work. A little later we will stipulate that all persons available for work shall be included in those who do the work, and thus solve employment.

Fluctuations shall be of hours of work, not of persons employed."

At present it's a gamble, it's business, it's commercial tuggery, holdups endorsed by trade; a gamble before which race-track gambling (bad as it is) pales into insignificance. Let us be honest and 'fess up. "Selling below cost price" indeed. Who can appraise the value of a human being? And cheapness in human life intensifies daily.

"It is hard to say whether the increase of the unemployed, or that of the unemployed rich, is the greater social evil" wrote Huxley.

At all events they spring from the same source. Production for profit instead of use. That's all there is to it, excepting that the unemployed rich are not put on the chain-gang. They can gamble as they please: their chess-men being human lives and human destinies.

Horse-race gambling and profit-making gambling are twins. We need a new moral sence. Industrialism is evolving that new moral sence. Its name is Interdependence, Solidarity.

We've followed the political will-o-the-wisp too long. Parliamentarianism is futile. Stateism is a false conceit. We want an administration of things, of food, clothes, houses, not a government of men.

The economic base needs shifting. The capitalists must go to work, and then will be the solution of the unemployed. The abolition of the wage system, that's the slogan.

"Each aiding each the higher truths to find." And they'll not be found in the system which perpetuates the chain-gang.

JACK WOOD.

A SYNDICALIST LEAGUE

The following circular deserves more than passing attention. It is descriptive of a condition that confronts every local of the I. W. W. and awaits but a favorable moment for precipitation. It is an argument in proof of Foster's contentions that will be very hard to explain away, for the reason that it is not merely a condition peculiar to Nelson, but is typical of every locality in the land.—Editor The Agitator.

TO ALL LOCALS OF THE I. W. W.

Fellow Workers: Local 525 has taken a stand which we think is to the interest of the working class in gener-

al and 525 in particular; and as our official papers have adopted press censorship, we take this method of notifying the Locals of our action, trusting they will give it the study it deserves, as the question involved is of vital importance to the revolutionary movement.

In the spring it went abroad that we intended to force the city wage scale upon the contractors. Immediately an agitation was started to bring in the A. F. of L., some 40 of our conservative members signing for a charter. The choice was therefore put up to us of two things: (1) a factional fight among the laborees, by having two unions, with the odds against the reds, as the contractors had stated that they would hire nobody but F. L. U. members; (2) going over to the F. L. U. individually and gain control of it. We chose the latter course as the better tactics.

A few days after the F. L. U. was organized the contractors, thinking they had us where they wanted us, decided to cut the cement mixers 50c. per days, expecting to see the I. W. W. & F. L. U. fight one another, and in the mixup they would be the gainers. The strike was called and to the surprise of the foreman, for the first time in Nelson, skilled and unskilled workers laid tools down as one man and gave him to understand, in unmistakable terms, that they had fought each other for the last time. It took him just fifteen minutes to find out that the workers were more solid than ever.

In order to carry on revolutionary propaganda, whereby members of all unions could take part without jeopardizing their standing in their union, we have started a Syndicalist League. It is an educational organization, principally of tactics, without the usual stereotyped rules, as you will see from our preamble:

PREAMBLE

"In the struggle between the capitalist and working class for possession of the earth and the instruments of production and distribution, the form under which the workers are organized is but a minor factor compared with the tactics employed.

Believing, therefore, that any and all tactics which further the interests of the workers are justifiable so long as they lead to success, we organize under this Syndicalist League."

This action may seem hasty, but the pressure brought to bear upon us could no longer be ignored. We had intended to wait and see the proposition brought forward by Foster thoroly discussed; but "Solidarity" unceremoniously closed the discussion, and then showed their fairness by printing two articles against the proposition. We protested to "Solidarity" and "The Worker" against this action; and they refused the protest; we cut off the bundle orders till such time as they decide to practice Free Speech as well as preach it.

We ask all members to read and study the series of articles by Foster now appearing in "The Agitator" with an unbiased minds. If this be done we feel sure the I. W. W. will drop its dual coat and proceed, with free hands, to educate and organize the workers, and move on to victories undreamt of before.

Yours for Solidarity,

A. L. Elliott, Wm. Craig,
J. W. Johnstone.

THE AGITATOR EXCURSION

The third annual excursion to Home Colony, given by The Agitator Club of Seattle, will take place on

SUNDAY, JUNE 23rd.

The steamer "Fairhaven" will leave Pier 3, foot of Madison Street, at 8 a. m. sharp, returning in the evening.

Dancing, boating, games, and other amusement will be provided.

Refreshments served on the boat. Dinner at Home, 50 cents. Tickets, \$1.00, Children under 12, 50 cents.

Tickets for sale at Lavroff's stand, 115 Prefontaine Place, and Raymer's, 1522 First Ave.

If you wish to be sure of the opportunity to take this delightful trip, get your tickets now.

"The Ego and His Own," by Max Stirner. This is the most thorough-going and most logical affirmation of the philosophy of Anarchism ever penned. The author died of hunger 50 years ago, but his spirit (materialized in these pages) still lives and speaks. The book is a splendidly reasoned negative of Majority Rules—a superb and immortal PROTEST against the world-wide and ever growing Terrorism of Religion and Government. Price, postpaid, \$1.00. "The House of Gowrie." 364 Wendell St., Chicago. Publisher—Bookseller—Importer. Write for catalogue, "A Thousand Books of Fame."

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